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ABSTRACT

Cities and religious orders in colonial Latin America competed vigorously and often bitterly to acquire a university, but little is understood of the cultural impact of the university on cities, regions, or the colonial system. The university in the Spanish colonies derived its organization and traditions from the University of Salamanca, a cathedral school, and the medieval universities of Europe. Royal grants and papal bulls were necessary for official establishment under Spanish law, and both the University of Mexico and the University of San Marcos in Lima claim to have been the first university in the American continent. Issues of autonomy and religious ties emphasize the importance of the university in colonial society, and some disagreement exists among historians about the strength of the ties. Social control and reinforcement of class values are seen as the ultimate purposes of the colonial institutions, but several theories exist about the sources and force of the influence. It is concluded that the colonial university served the dual purposes of educating the Creole aristocracy while preserving religious and political orthodoxy in the colonies. Various theories exist about the institutions' educational philosophies and intellectual life. Archival historical materials are plentiful; scholarly interpretation of them is recommended for more complete understanding of the cultural impact of the colonial universities. (MSE)

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THE UNIVERSITY IN COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

The establishment of universities in the Spanish New World followed hard upon the heels of the Conquest in the sixteenth century. The goal of every prosperous city was to house a university. The "colegios" of the religious orders were established in many towns and villages. By the nineteenth century there were twenty-three royal universities in Spanish America. The Spanish university operated under a royal license which granted the institution the right to confer titles of degree. Most of the major universities obtained pontifical grants in addition to the royal grants. Individuals who earned degrees from a university were given special social status within a community, "... learned men enjoyed an advantageous position in society which remained in full force during the colonial period and still survives in considerable vigor in most places in the Spanish world."[1] Likewise the university city enjoyed a privileged status among other cities and served as the cultural capital for its region.

Although universities occupied a position of influence and esteem in colonial society, research studies concerning the development of the university and its contributions to colonial culture and institutions have not occupied a similar position. The limited number of secondary studies on the colonial university system remains a critical problem. Many universities publish commemorative issues of documents and administrative histories to celebrate the anniversaries of their founding. Excellent studies have been made

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of individual universities or of higher education within a single country, but few researchers have attempted an evaluative examination of the university as a colonial institution. This study will examine the principle themes which characterize the main body of university research. The question of primacy or which university can lay claim to being the first in the New World draws its arguments from the documentation of the various developmental phases of the university. The theme of the constitutional development of the university explores the extent and nature of the colonial university's autonomy from religious authority and the effect its relationship with the Catholic Church had on its own development. This issue leads into an examination of the purpose and philosophy of the universities as they operated within colonial society. Finally the debate over the influence Enlightenment reforms exerted upon the role and purpose of the colonial university will be examined. This essay will draw together selected research studies in this field in order to present and discuss the principle arguments existing between them and to try to suggest areas for future research.

The university in the Spanish colonies derived its constitution, privileges and academic organization from the University of Salamanca and the medieval universities of Europe. The thirteenth century saw the rise of the great medieval European universities. A system of higher education was created that stretched across national borders and established four major centers of learning: Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca. Although essentially a cathedral school, the University of Salamanca enjoyed the privileges of a

royal charter. The rights and exemptions specified under this royal charter became identified with the university as a public institution in Spain. Similar privileges and exemptions were subsequently handed down to the major colonial universities as part of their charters. The Crown continued to retain the perogative of defining the curriculum of any university operating under a royal charter. The institutional code under which the universities functioned was established in Spain and was simply transferred intact, or with minor modifications to meet local requirements as the need for universities in the New World arose. John Tate Lanning argues that the university became an institutional arm of the Church and State, in Spain as well as in the colonies, "...in reality they were the very warp and woof of the Church, without which a trained clergy could not have survived and the solid rock upon which colonial culture, in all its formal aspects, rested in closest parallel to that of Europe."[2]

Both the University of México and the University of San Marcos in Lima claim the honor of being the first university established in the American continent. Apart from the natural jealousies which existed between the two great colonial urban centers and vice-regal capitals, Lima and Mexico City, the principal problem is one of definition. Under Spanish law a university did not legally exist until it had received a royal grant and a papal bull establishing its secular and religious authority to grant degrees. Roberto MacLean y Estenós defends the claim of the University of San Marcos, using the date the papal bulls and royal grants were issued as his

criteria to mark the establishment of the university.[3] The royal "cedula" which gave degree-granting privileges to the University of San Marcos was issued in May, 1551. The papal bull of 1571 bestowed pontifical status on the university. The University of Mexico received its royal grant in September of 1551 and its pontifical grant in the papal bull of 1595. Daniel Valcarcel, Historia de la Educación Colonial (Lima, 1968) and Carlos Concha, "The Oldest University in South America" (HAHR, February, 1969, pp. 107-114) support the conclusions reachedby MacLean y Estenós. The arguments of all three men rest, in part, upon the date of issue of the papal bull and primacy based on this argument has been challenged. The University of Santo Domingo received a papal bull raising it to the status of a pontifical university in 1538 making it the first university in America. However, since it did not begin to function as a university until 1558, the use of the papal bull as a determinant of foundation is a weak proof in this case.

The defenders of the claim of the University of Mexico present arguments of equal weight. They argue that the inauguration of courses, not the issuance of grants and bulls, should mark the establishment of a university. John Tate Lanning ably presents this argument in his classic study, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies (London, 1940) and receives support from Julio Jimenez Rueda's legal history of the University of Mexico, Las Constituciones de la Antigua Universidad (Mexico, 1951). Both Tate Lanning and Jimenez Rueda agree that the University of Mexico, as an independent institution, initiated classroom instruction in 1553 while the University of San Marcos did not offer instruction until

1578 when it became independent of the Dominican order. The University of Mexico claims the title through another argument. Ignacio Carrillo y Perez, La Universidad de Mexico en 1800 (Mexico, 1946) and Jesús Silva Herzog, Una Historia de la Universidad de Mexico y Sus Problemas (Mexico, 1974) use the date a university received the constitutional privileges of the University of Salamanca as the effective founding date. The University of Mexico received the statutes of the University of Salamanca in 1553, ninety years before they were granted to the University of San Marcos in 1645. Both of these studies provide fine institutional histories of the university but do not satisfactorily settle the dispute.

It is doubtful whether these conflicting claims can ever be resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned. National pride is too heavily involved and criteria for foundation dates are selected by national self-interest more often than not. Perhaps this controversy over precedence is only a minor concern, but it serves to demonstrate the pride the countries of Spanish America have in their educational heritage. The university was a symbol of royal and ecclesiastical patronage and an acknowledgement that the city honored to be the seat of a university was a cultural and intellectual center for the colony. The issue of precedence notwithstanding, this debate points out that the universities and "colegios" were established as soon after the colonization of the New World as civic leaders could arrange. The early and continuing committment to higher education by Crown, Church and colonial leaders is evident throughout these studies.

More researchers focus on the constitutional and administrative

development of colonial universities than on any other area. John Tate Lanning pioneered in this field with his study of the foundation and development of the University of San Carlos in Guatemala and this work remains one of the best examples of a developmental history of a single institution.[4] Tate Lanning based his study almost entirely on documents and archival sources. He traces the process of establishing the university from the first petitions sent to the Crown in 1572 to the official opening of the university in 1680. He documents over a hundred years of persistence by the leaders of the colony who were determined to establish a university in their colony. C. H. Haring, writing about the same time, bases many of his arguments on Tate Lanning's earlier work, Academic Culin the Spanish Colonies, and reaches similar conclusions regarding the institutional development of the university. Haring devotes a chapter on education in The Spanish Empire in America and describes the colonial university as a group of professional schools modeled on continental traditions rather than a monolithic structure.[5]

While Haring and Tate Lanning stress the basic autonomy of the universities, later historians have portrayed the persistence of strong ties between the universities and the religious orders of the Dominicans and the Jesuits. Sor Agueda María Rodríguez Cruz, Historia de las Universidades Hispano-Americanas (Bogota, 1973) examines individual universities in the light of the institutional development of the university system in the New World. She emphasizes the role played by the religious orders in initiating and fostering the development of higher education in the colonies. The importance she places on the role of the religious

orders in her study may be strongly influenced by her own connection with the Dominican order which established many schools and "colegios" throughout the Spanish colonial empire. The religious orders played a vital role in promoting the establishment of a university system and did much to encourage its growth and expansion. Carlos González Orellana, Historia de la Educatión en Guatemala (Guatemala, 1970) describes the fierce rivalry between the Jesuits and the Dominicans in Guatemala. The two orders fought political battles for educational privileges and to win for their "colegios" degree-granting authority as universities. This partisanship over university rights appears to dominate much of the educational development in Guatemala and emphasizes the importance of the university to colonial society.

The Church maintained its supervision over the universities by issuing pontifical licenses and requiring that a greater voice in the cloister, or university council, be given to the religious order in whose buildings the university was housed. In the colonial university the chair of theology was considered to be the principal faculty, followed closely by the faculty of canon law. The role of the Church in academic affairs is examined in two studies written in the 1950's which contend that Church involvement in higher education was beneficial. John Tate Lanning, The Eighteenth Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala, argues that instead of stifling educational progress, the Inquisition and royal university censors intended not to suppress but to acheive academic reforms, by force if necessary.[6] Jimenez Rueda supports Tate Lanning's conclusion and, furthermore, argues that the Univer-

sity of Mexico operated as an extension of papal influence for the profession and dispersion of the faith. He argues that the Church endorsed the advancement of scientific as well as humanistic studies in university curricula, particularly at the University of Mexico.

With the exception of the essay by Rodríguez Cruz, most recent studies argue that the Church exerted a negative influence upon academic acheivements. Felipe Barreda Laos, Vida Intelectual de Virreinato del Peru, states that the intellectual life in colonial Peru, represented by the educational institutions under the tutelage of the Church, regressed in comparison to the universities in Europe, "the dominating theological preoccupation aggravated the disequilibrium, developing an exaggerated reglisious feeling; favoring fanaticism; an aversion to humanism, and the negation of natural instincts."[7]

The differences between the conclusions reached by Tate Lanning and his supporters and those of Barreda Laos and recent studies may lie in the definition of the purpose of the university and its role in society. When the perception of the primary purpose of the university shifts from its role as an extension of the state to its function as a center for humanistic philosophy, the perception of the strengths and weaknesses of the institution also changes. The difficulty in reaching an agreement on a common definition of the purpose and philosophy of the university remains one of the major problems for researchers. The role of the university in the cultural and institutional life of the Spanish colonies has taken second place to the examination of the structural development of the university as an institution. The problems with definition are two-

fold: first, what is the purpose of the university, its reason for existence and second, what methods and philosophy are adopted to guide the actions taken to acheive that purpose.

Scholars agree that the initial purpose of the colonial university was to train and educate clergy and to provide for the education of the sons of the Spanish colonists. Tate Lanning argues that one of the factors in the drive by the colonists to establish an educational hierarchy in the New World, apart from the prestige derived from hosting a university or "colegio", was the desire for European educational opportunities in the colonies to prepare young Creoles to pursue a literary or professional career without having to travel back to Spain.[8] He points out that in some cases a colonial viceroy would promote educational development in order to facilitate the Hispanicization of the native population. Haring goes further and argues that under Hapsburg rule the colonial universities were, in theory, open to the Indian and even to free mulattoes.[9] He contends that racial restrictions to education did not become law until the late seventeenth century for Negroes, mulattoes and quadroons and not until the mid-eighteenth century for mestizoes and gambos. He concludes that the university system was more open to the various classes of society during the early stages of development, but that as the number of mestizos entering the professions rose, the Creole elite imposed restrictions to protect their class privileges. Gradually the university withdrew from cross-cultural education and began to represent the interests of the Creole elite. Elisa Luque Alciade, La Educación en Nueva España en el Siglo XVIII (Seville, 1970) supports the theory that the university

developed into a socially restrictive institution. She argues that the university in New Spain became a Creole institution which contributed to the development of a Creole society and initiated the growth of nationalism and made the university a nationalistic institution. A more pessimistic appraisal of the university's role in society is presented by Stanley and Barbara Stein who contend that the university served as an institution for social constraint, imposing a selective barrier to income and social advancement for all but the Creole elite.[10]

These authors perceive the eventual purpose of the university as social control and re-inforcement of class values. Tate Lanning's study of academic culture never addressed itself directly to this issue, but the underlying theme throughout his works indicates that he shared Haring's belief that the university system was a socially open institution until the eighteenth century. Until then racial prejudice in the granting of university degrees was minimal at least in the case of the native aristocracy. Tate Lanning points out that the Negro and mulatto suffered the most under racial restrictions, not the native Indians.[11] He contends that the religious restrictiveness prohibiting the admittance of any individual whose father or grandfather had been punished by the Inquisition developed in the colonial universities, but was missing from the constitution of the University of Cordoba in Spain.[12] A developing sense of social and religious exclusivity appeared in the colonies independent of tradition in Spain. The elitism of the university, particularly that of the University of

San Carlos in Guatemala, is described by Carlos González Orellana. He argues that the university was reserved for the privileged classes and those individuals of legitimate birth, pure blood and religious orthodoxy.[13]

The social role of the university is only one aspect of its influence on colonial society. Some historians believe that the university was primarily an extension of royal policy towards the American colonies. Jiminez Rueda proposes that the university in Mexico existed as an institutional arm of royal and papal influence specifically entrusted to spread the faith and promote a Hispanicized educational uniformity among the colonists and the native aristocracy. He argues that the university reflected colonial society's rejection of its heterogeneous surroundings in favor of a uniformity imposed by the elite minority. However, he insists that despite these restrictive influences, the universities proved extremely adept in producing some brillant individuals who led the cultural evolution of the emerging Creole society. Subsequently Barreda Laos expanded upon this thesis in his study of Peruvian intellectual life. He supports Jimenez Rueda's theory that the colonial university was an institution which served to perpetuate the authority of Church and Crown, but he believes that this service was performed to the great detriment of education and colonial culture.

The Crown's justification for the establishment of educational institutions can be found in an excerpt from a royal "cedula", or proclamation, "...para servir a Diós Nuestra Señor y para el bien

público de nuestros reinos, es indispensable que nuestros vasallos y los súbitos naturales, estudien y se gradúen en las ciencias conocidas, a fin de acabar con las ignorancia."[14] The Crown was committed to the dissemination of educational opportunities throughout the empire as a matter of royal policy. The university, as an institution protected and supervised by the Crown, could transmit royal policy and imperial philosophy along with academic subjects to students and literati throughout the entire Spanish colonial empire. Rodríguez Cruz took this imperial purpose and examined the university system in light of it and argued that by utilizing a uniform model for their constitutions and academic structures, the universities served as a unifying force within the empire. The University of Salamanca served as the model for the first colonial universities, passing tradition directly from Spain to the colonies. Later universities often used the universities in Mexico City and Lima as their models, re-inforcing colonial traditions.

In reviewing these varying views of the function of the university it can be seen that the colonial university was not a single-faceted organism, but served a dual purpose of educating the Creole aristocracy while preserving the religious and political orthodoxy in the colonies. Many researchers have contributed to the growth of contradictions concerning the role of the university in colonial society by selectively isolating each of the varied roles the university performed. In order to reduce the subject to manageable proportions it is tempting to concentrate on the individual parts but at the cost of losing sight of the complex interplay between the parts and the university as a social and cultural influence

on colonial development. The university operated within a local matrix of social needs and pressures while responsive to the general policies and educational requirements of the empire. Most historians agree that until the seventeenth century the colonial university system was flexible enough to cope with local and imperial forces and still serve its basic purpose - to educate the young spiritually and professionally.

An issue closely allied with the examination of the role of the university centers around the philosophy behind its academic program. The question is not what constituted the colonial philosophy of education, but whether that philosophy enhanced or stifled cultural and intellectual development. In his study, The Development of Higher Education in Mexico (New York, 1944), George I. Sanchez theorizes that since the universities were founded during the intellectual and cultural flowering of the Southern Renaissance, the colonial educational system benefitted from this expansion of intellectual frontiers. He goes on to defend the philosophy of deductive reasoning and syllogisms which dominated colonial educational theory. Spanish education, which was based on this style of teaching, has been considered by many historians to be out of step with progressive trends in Western Europe. Sanchez rejects this attitude and argues that Spanish educational philosophy was representative of contemporary European trends; verbalism, limited humanism, and academic formalism were the norms for European educational institutions. Sanchez concludes that by the end of the seventeenth century Spain and her colonies had retreated from an intellectual renaissance and turned to a narrow and formal style

of humanism. While Sanchez favors a more optimistic evaluation of the academic philosophy as represented at the University of Mexico, his contemporary Roberto MacLean y Estenós presents a more critical evaluation of the educational philosophy at the University of San Marcos in Lima. He argues that there university instruction promoted religious dogmatism, elitism and knowledge based on rote memory rather than on comprehension of facts and ideas.[15] A later study by Irving A. Leonard (Baroque Times in Old Mexico, Ann Arbor, 1959) does not contradict Sanchez's basic thesis, but Leonard is more critical of the effect the scholastic philosophy had on education and culture. He argues that university education in Mexico was medieval in style and when the medieval ideal of intellectual orthodoxy encountered the new wave of humanistic philosophy sweeping through Europe between 1550 to 1750, the intellectual life of the university decayed into a neo-scholastic justification of orthodoxy. "The effect was a tendency to shift from content to form, from ideas to details, to give new sanction to dogmas, to avoid issues and to substitute subtlety of language for subtlety of thought; it served to repress rather than liberate the human spirit, and to divert by spectacles, by overstatement, and by excessive ornamentation."[16] Leonard offers little evidence which would show that the university system benefitted colonial intellectual expression. The impression he leaves is that intellectual activity prospered in spite of, rather than because of, the university.

Scholasticism served the educational needs of Spain and her

colonies until the seventeenth century, but as shown in the aforementioned studies, has become a symbol of intellectual stagnation. Many historians described the seventeenth century as a period of educational decadence and formalism; an arid wasteland awaiting the rebirth of philosophy in the advancing Enlightenment. The studies of the pre-Enlightenment university have suffered from a tendency to judge the philosophies and teaching methods by the standards set by the subsequent reforms instead of judging them on their own merits. Was the university decadent or did it perhaps continue to serve the needs of its time? The inter-relationship that existed between a university and its socio-economic environment should not be lost in the perception of them as autonomous forces exerting no influence upon each other.

The need for this type of study is demonstrated in the examination of the effect the Enlightenment had upon colonial universities; how they assimilated reforms and whether the university played a key role in disseminating Enlightenment principles throughout the colonial society. John Tate Lanning provided the first comprehensive study of a university encountering the Enlightenment. Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies studies the spread of Enlightenment philosophies through the university system and concludes that reforms appeared gradually and culminated in an attack on Aristotle, whose methodology and science had been the foundation of educational philosophy in Spain. Official toleration of the new scientific methodology, as represented by Descartes' theory of methodical doubt, accelerated the acceptance of reforms so that by the early part of the nineteenth century they

were generally accepted. Tate Lanning's later work, The Eighteenth Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala (Ithaca, 1956), explores the effect those reforms had on a particular institution. He argues that the university in the New World was not isolated from European philosophical trends. In fact the Crown sponsored, through political and financial assistance, those Enlightenment objectives which prompted the scientific gathering of useful knowledge, as long as those ideas did not challenge the authority of the Crown.[17] In a later essay Tate Lanning broadens his arguments on the influence of the Enlightenment to include the whole university system and maintains that the principles and reforms generated by the Enlightenment in Europe were absorbed by most of the colonial universities without official interference.[18] As long as the university adhered to basic Church doctrine, reforms in science and the humanities curricula went unchallenged by the Inquisition. Tate Lanning concludes that the Enlightenment posed no threat, or else none was perceived, to the authority of Church and Crown, and therefore was welcomed within the cloak of Bourbon reforms.

In 1970 Carlos González Orellana re-examined the reform movement at the University of San Carlos de Guatemala and concluded that the reforms did indeed evoke a new spirit of philosophic reasoning which subsequently developed into an academic rebellion against the rule of authority.[19] A new spirit of independence diversified the schools of philosophy and initiated the slow process of dismantling the unity of the Crown, Church and academia. Questions were raised about the doctrinal authorities which had

governed the teaching of science and philosophy in the past.

Two different views of Enlightenment reform at the University of San Marcos emerged in the 1960's. Felipe Barreda Laos argues that the Enlightenment displaced medievalist philosophy and introduced the new scientific methodology at the university only after a prolonged struggle lasting late into the eighteenth century. In Peru, the university resisted the ideas of the Enlightenment long after they had been accepted in the "colegios". Daniel Valcarcel's history of the university praises the continuous program of reform carried out by the university. He identifies the constitutional developments and the separation of the university from Dominican supervision as part of the general reform movement, while Barreda Laos uses a narrower definition and limits his arguments to specific Enlightenment reforms. With the differences in definitions between these two corflicting arguments it is difficult to resolve the question of how flexible the University of San Marcos really was.

Mario Góngora, Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America (Cambridge, 1975) has examined the effect of the Enlightenment on colonial education as part of a general historical survey of the colonies. He argues that the Spanish Enlightenment was encouraged by the Bourbon kings, in part, to bring Spain out of the Baroque Age which had been dominated by the House of Austria. The new dynasty modernized the scientific methodology and introduced a historiography which revitalized the study of Visigothic Spain, medieval culture, and the literature of the sixteenth century. Improved communications with the colonies facilitated the

spread of reforms. Góngora theorizes that the universities absorbed a broader spectrum of Enlightenment principles than institutions in Spain and initiated reforms which constituted a break with the past and a gradual reorientation to America, rather than Iberian, culture.[20] He is willing to credit Enlightenment influence on colonial universities with the dissemination of liberationist philosophies, but retains some reservations concerning the extent of that influence.

There is sufficient evidence which provides a key to understanding how university acceptance of Enlightenment reforms contributed to the movement towards independence. The eighteenth century was a critical period in the development of the national consciousness of the Creole class. Whether the universities fostered this awareness or exerted a conservative pressure on society to preserve the ties with Spain and imperial traditions is a question which requires further study and may vary from country to country.

Some studies have examined the foundation and development of the three major colonial universities and offer insights into the academic evolution within the three viceroyalties. John Tate Lanning's study, The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala (Ithaca, 1955) remains the classic work in academic history and is based almost entirely on primary sources and university archives. Two authors examine the development of the University of Mexico, in the same manner. Ignacia Carrillo y Perez (La Universidad de Mexico en 1800, Mexico, 1946) offers an administrative history of the university while Alberto M. Carreño (La Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico, Mexico, 1961) presents a structural history focusing on the politics, personalities and traditions of the university's deve-

lopment. An official publication, La Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima, 1950) presents the perspective of the university of its own academic history through administrative development. These four studies are an excellent introduction to historical studies of individual universities. They present the constitutional character of a colonial university and how it evolved within the imperial political environment.

There are several good resources for the study of an individual university, particularly in the area of document compilations and guides. Juan Rodriguez Cabal, Universidad de Guatemala: sus origen, fundación, organización (Guatemala, 1976) introduces a source guide for materials in the archives and collections which contain documents and letters relating to cultural institutions and associated individuals. Although this is an excellent introduction to primary resource materials it only covers materials published before 1935. Fundación de la Universidad de Guatemala (Guatemala, 1976) by José Mata Gavidia contains a historical account of the struggle to establish a royal university in the kingdom of Guatemala and includes facsimiles of documents and numerous illustrations. Estatos y Constituciones Reales de la Regia Universidad de San Carlos de Goathemala: año 1681 (Guatemala, 1976) is a reproduction of a seventeenth century documental study of the University of San Carlos and contains a facsimile of the original edition plus the 1783 reprint of the 1686 printed version. These three works should facilitate the progress of research as more documents are indexed and published and become accessible outside university archives.

The documents of the University of Mexico have been compiled in Reales Cedulas de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico de 1551 a 1816 (Mexico, 1946) published by the university. It contains a selection of royal decrees which document the foundation, development and administration of the university. Directives to other colonial universities which were attached to the Mexican "cedulas" have also been reproduced. This compilation provides a good alternative source for researchers who are unable to utilize the university's archives.

There is no lack of archival resources available on the individual universities throughout Spanish America, but secondary research reports which interpret and evaluate the data contained in the primary sources are less numerous. When John Tate Lanning began his research on colonial universities back in the 1940's he depended almost entirely on university archives or other primary sources. At that time there were very few studies of the university system published in this country, Latin America or in Spain. Although there are now many more secondary sources available to the modern researcher, progress in establishing a historiographical understanding of the colonial university is piecemeal. Now that histories of the individual universities are beginning to appear with increasing frequency, it is time to turn to a research program focusing on the royal university system in colonial Spanish America. Were the universities similar in their responses to outside stimuli? Did the individual universities think of themselves as part of an imperial system of higher education? How did the relationship between universities affect the exchange of infor-

mation and research from Spain and between colonial territories. A systematic examination of the function and influence of the minor universities and the "colegios" of the religious orders also awaits the researcher with the time and patience to work from documents and archival materials.

Since the pioneer works by Tate Lanning, there have been some attempts to appraise and evaluate the broad implications of the role and function of the university in colonial culture and society. Historians are becoming aware of the forces which shape a society and its culture, but so far have not applied this knowledge to a systematic study of the universities of colonial Latin America. Cities and religious orders competed vigorously and often bitterly to acquire a university, but so little is understood about the cultural impact the university had on a city, a region or the colonial system. To begin to understand the powerful influence education exerted over the colonists requires extensive consultation of diaries, newspapers and private papers, in addition to public and university archives, but to know how the university reflected or influenced the social environment of the colonies would greatly contribute to the understanding of colonial society and its development.

FOOTNOTES

[1]John Tate Lanning, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies (London, 1940), p.9

[2]Lanning, op.cit., p.33

[3]MacLean y Estenós, "Sociología Educacional Peruana, universidades, colegios, seminarios y escuelas en el virreinato del Peru", Revista Mexicana de Sociología, V (1943), pp.215-250.

[4]Tate Lanning, The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala, (Ithaca, 1955)

[5](New York, 1947), p.216

[6](Ithaca, 1956), p.349

[7](Lima, 1964), p.47

[8]Tate Lanning, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies (London, 1940), p.15

[9]Haring, op.cit., p.215

[10]Stein and Stein, The Colonial Heritage of Latin America (New York, 1970), p.176

[11]Tate Lanning, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies (London, 1940), p.39

[12]Ibid, p.40

[13]González Orellana, op.cit., p.141

[14]MacLean y Estenós, op.cit., p.218

[15]MacLean y Estenós, op.cit., p.249

[16]Leonard, p.28

[17]p.xxi

[18]Tate Lanning, "The Church and the Enlightenment in the Universities", The Americas, XV (April, 1959), pp.333-349

[19]González Orellana, op.cit., p.153

[20]Góngora, p.181